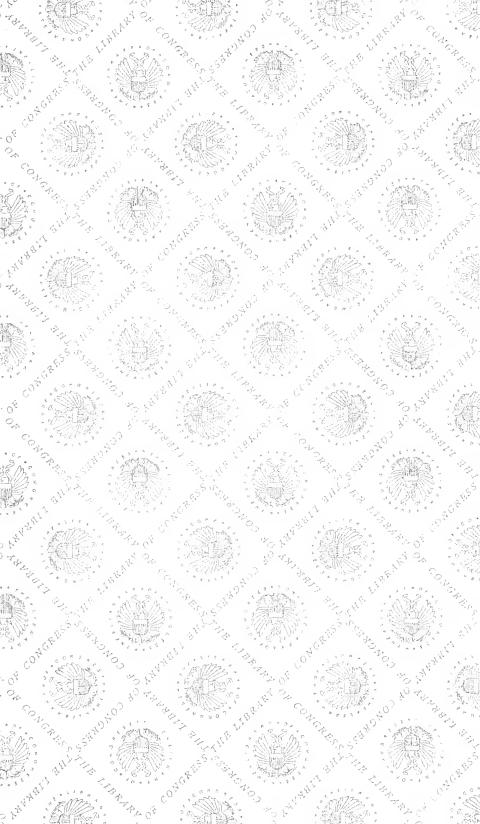
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SPEECH



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ноп. Јаме BUCHA

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

THE POWER. 8UPPORTVETO

AND

IN REPLY TO MR. CLAY, OF KENTUCKY.

DELIVERED IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, WEDNESDAY, FEB. 2, 1842.

Mr. BUCHANAN being entitled to the floor, "every order, resolution, or vote to which the conddressed the Senate as follows:

nitted my ell to make a speech upon this subject., journment." . assure you that it has become extremely cold; and I think I never shall again pledge myself to noves to change the existing Constitution, so as to address the Senate at the end of a week or ten require but a bare majority of all the members be lays, to be occupied in the discussion of an in errening and different question. Collas the subject notwithstanding the President's of jections, had become, it is now still colder, after having waited for an hour to hear a debate on the more ought to be so amended as to require but a bare reference of a memorial to the Committee on Com- majority of all the members of each House, instead But although the subject may have lost

aply to the S. nator from Kentucky [Mr. CLAY] with as much effect as if the discussion on the Cankrupt bill had not intervened, yet it has lost gone of its intringic importance.

he clearly and distinctly state the question to be ecided by the Senate.

now exists-

"Every bill which shall have passed the House of Represent-tives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be present-to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall It to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall ign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections to that Souse in which it shall have orientated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If first such reconsider rotion true thirds of that House shall tyree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it is shall likewise he remaidered, and if approved by its chirds of that House, it had be sent a him. But, in all such cases, the votes of both flowes shit the determined by case and nay, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill, shall be entered on he Journal of each flower respectively. If any bill shall not be enumed by the President within tendays is maday excepted paint is that two beint presented to him, the same shall be a some that it would be a the hid signed it, unless the Congress of heat all more in the return, in which case it in the pate of his the very in the result in the return, in which case it in the pate of his the very in the result is return, in which case it in the pate of the very in the result is return, in which case it in the

currence of the Senate and House of Representa-Mr. PRE-ident: I am now sorry that I ever co not tives may be necessary, except on a question of ad-

> The joint resolution offered by the Senator, prolonging to each House to pass any bill into a law?

The question then is, whether the Constitution of two-thirds of each House, to overrule the Presiis freshness to my mind, and I may not be able to | dent's veto; and, in my opinion, there never was a more important question presented to the Sepate. Is it wise, or is it republican, to make this funda.

mental change in our institutions?

The great Whig party of the coattry have iden-Before I commonce the discussion, however, let diffied themselves, in the most solemn manner, with this proposed amendment. Feeling sensibly, by sad experience, that they had suffered since the late Under the Constitution of the United States, as Presidential election, from not having previously now exists—

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Represented a clear exposition of their principles "to the public eje," they determined no longer to suffer iron this cause. Accordingly, the conscript fathers of the church assembled in convention at the city of Washington, on the 13th September last-at the close of the ever memorable extra session-and adopted an address to the people of the United States. This manifesto contains a distinct avowal of the articles of their creed; and, first and foremost among them all, is a denunciation of the veto power. I shall refer very briefly to this address; a though to use the language of my friend, the present Governor of Kentucky, it contains much good reading. So exasperated were the feelines of the party then, and so deeply were they The same constitutional rate is applicable to pledged to the abolition of the veto power, that

they solemnly and formally read John Tyler out of the Whig church, because he had exercised it against the bills to establish "a fiscal agent" and a "fiscal corporation" of the United States. The form of excommunication bears a resemblance to the Diclaration of Independence which severed this country forever from Great Britain. I shall give it in their own emphatic larguage. They declare that J. hn Tyler—

"By the course he has adopted in respect to the application of the veto power to two successive bank charters, each at which there was just reason to believe would meet his approbation; by the withdrawal of confidence from his real friends in Congress and from the members of his Cabinet; by the bestowal of it upon others notwithstanding their noterious opposition to leading measures of his Administration, has voluntarily separated himself from those by whose exertions and suffrages he was elevated to that office through which he reaches this present exalted station," &c. &c.

After a long preamble, they proceed to specify the duties which t'e Whig party are bound to perform to the country, and at the very head of these duties, the destruction of the veto power contained in the Constitution stands prominently conspicuous. The following is the language which they have employed:

"First. A reduction of the Executive power, by a further limitation of the veto, so as to secure obedience to the public will, as that shall be expressed by the immediate Representatives of the people and the States, with no other control than that which is indispensable to avert hasty or unconstitutional legislatin."

Mark me, sir, the object is not to secure obsdience to the public will as expressed by the people themselves, the source of all political power; but as expounded by their Senators and Representatives in Congress.

After enumerating other duties, they declare that "to the effectivation of these objects ought the exertions of the Whigs to be hereafter directed." And they make a direct appeal to the people by announting that "those only should be chosen members of Congress who are withing cordially to cooperate in the accomplishment of them." Twenty they are nonless of this manifecto were ordered to be primate and circulated among the people of the United S ates.

This appeal to the people, sir, was a vain one. The ar wal of their principles destroyed them. The pecule did not come to the rescue. Never was the e a more di astrous defeat than theirs, at the las all elections, so immediately after their triumphant victory. Thank Heaven! the people have not thus far responded to this appeal, and I trust they may never consent to abolish the veto power. Sir, the Democratic party in regard to this power, in the language of the doughty Barons of England, centuries ago, are not willing that the charter of their liberties shall be charged. W_{e} shall hold on to this veto power as one of the most effectual safeguards of the Union, and one of the surest means of carrying into effect the will of the people.

In my humble judgment, the wise statesman ought equally to avoid a foolish veneration for ancient institutions on the one hand, and a restless desire for charge on the other. In this respect, the middle is the safer course. Too great a veneration for antiquity would have kept mankind in bondage; and the plea of despots and tyrants, in every age, has been, that the wisdom of past generations has

to touch with a sacrilegious hand. Our ancestors were great innovators; and had they not been so, the darkness and the despotism which existed a thousand years ago would have continued until the present moment. For my own part, I believe that the human race, from generation to generation, has in the main been advancing, and will continue to advance, in wisdom and knowledge; and whenever experience shall demonstrate that a change, even in the Federal Constitution, will promote the happiness and prosperity of the people, I shall not licitate to vote in favor of such a Sill, there are circumstances which change. serround this instrument with peculiar sanctity. It was tramed by an wise men and as pure patricts as the sun of heaven ever shone upon. We have every reason to believe that Providence smiled upon their labors, and predestined them to bless mankind. Immediately after the adoption of the Constitution, order arose out of confusion; and a settled Government, capable of performing all its duties to its constituents with energy and effect, succeeded to the chaos and disorder which had previously existed under the Articles of Confederation. For more than half a century, under his Constitution, we have enjoyed a greater degree of liberty and happiness than has ever fallen to the lot of any other nation on earth. Under such circumstances, the Senator from Kentucky, before be can rightfully demand our votes in layor of a radical change of this Constitution, in one of its fundamental articles, ought to make out a clear case. He ought not only to point out the evils which the country has suffered from the existence of the veto power, but ought to convince us, they have been of such magnitude, that it is not better "to bear the ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of." For my own part. I believe that the veto power is one of the strongest and stateliest columns of that fair temple which our ancestors have dedicated to liberty; and that if you remove it from this time-henored edifice, you will essentially impair its strength and mar its beauty. Indeed there will then be great danger that in time it may tumble into ruins. Sir, in regard to this veto power, as it at present exists, the convention which framed the Constitu-

tion, although much divided on other subjects, were unanimous. It is true that in the earlier stages of their proceedings, it was considerably discussed, and presented in different aspects. Some members were in favor of an absolute veio, and others were opposed to any veto, however qualified; but they at length unanimously adopted the happy mean, and framed the article as it now stands in the Constitution. According to Mr. Madisen's report of the debates and proceedings in the convention, we find that on Saturday the 21st July, 1787, ' the tenth resolution giving the Executive a qualified veto, requiring two thirds of each branch of the Legislature to overrule it, was then agreed to nem con." The convention con inued in session for nearly two months after this decision; but so far as I can discover, no member ever attempted to disturb this unanimous decision.

and the plea of despots and tyrants, in every age, has been, that the wisdom of past generations has assailed under the excitement of disappointed feel-

sures at the extra session, on which Senators had fixed their hearts. There ought to have been time for passion to cool and reason to resume her empire. I know very well that the Senator from Kentucky had announced his apposition to the veto power so far back as June, 1840, in his Hanover speech; but that speech may fairly be considered as a declaration of his own individual opinion on The great Whig party never adopted it as one of the cardinal articles of their faith, until, smarting under di-appointment, thuy saw their two favorite measures of the extra session fell beneath this power. It was then, and not till then, that the resolution, in effect, to abolish it was adopted by them as a party, in their manifesto. The present amendment proposes to carry this resolution into execution.

I should rather rely upon the judgment of the Senator from Kentucky on any other question, than in regard to the veto power. He has suffered so much from its exercise as to render it almost impossible that he can be an impartial judge. History will record the long and memorable struggle between himself and a distinguished ex-President, now in retirement. This was no common party strife. Their mighty war shook the whole Republic to its centre. The one swayed the majority in both Houses of Congress; whilst the other was sustained by a majerity of the people. Under the lead of the one, Congress passed bills to establish a Bank of the United States;—to commence a system of internal improvements;—and to distribute the proceeds of the public lands among the several States; whilst the other, strong in his convictions of duty, and strong in his belief that the voice of the sovereign people would condemn these measures of their representatives, vetced them every one. And what was the result? Without, upon the present occasion, expressing an op nion on any one of these questions, was it not rendered manifest that the President elected by the mass of the people, and directly responsible to them for his conduct, understood their will and their wishes better than the majority in the Senate and House of Representatives? No wonder then that the Senator from Kentucky should detest the veto power. It ought never to be torn from its foundations in the Constitution by the rash hands of a political party, impelled to the deed under the influence of defeated hopes and disappointed ambition.

I trust now that I shall be able to prove that the Senator from Kentucky has entirely mistaken the character of the veto power; that in its origin and nature it is peculiarly democratic; that in the qualified form in which it exists in our Constitution, it is but a mere appeal by the President of the people's choice from the decision of Corgress to the people themselves; and that whilst the exercise of this power has done much good, it never has been, and never can be, dargerous to the rights and liberties of the people.

This is not "an arbitrary and monarchical power;" it is not "a monarchical prerogative," as

ings occasioned by the veto of two favorite mea-jed by, nor responsible to, the people, to maintain and preserve the privileges of his throne. The veto power in the hands of such a sovereign has never been exerted, and will never be exerted, except to arrest the progress of popular liberty, or what he may term popular encroachment. It is the character of the public egent on whom this power is conferred, and not the nature of the power itself, which stamps it either as democratic or arbitrary. In its origin, we all know that it was purely democratic. It owes its existence to a revolt of the people of Rome against the tyrannical decrees of the Senate. They retired from the city to the Sacred Mount, and demanded the rights of freemen. They thus extorted from the aristocratic Senate a decree authorizing them annually to elect tribunes of the people. On these tribunes was conferred the power of annulling any decree of the Sanate, by simply pronouncing the word "xcto." This very power was the only one by means of which the Dimogracy of Rome exercised any control over the Government of the Republic. It was their only safeguard against the oppression and encroachments of the aristocracy. It is true that it did not enable the people, through their tribunes, to originate laws; but it saved them from all laws of the Senate which encroached on their rights and liber-

Now, sir, let me ask the Senator from Kentucky, was this an arbitrary and monarchical power? No, sir; it was strictly democratic. And why? Because it was exercised by tribunes elected by the people, and responsible annually to the people; and I shall now attempt to prove that the veto power, under our Constitution, is of a similar character.

Who is the President of the United States, by whom this power is to be exercised? He is a citizen, elected by his fellow citizens to the highest official trust in the country, and directly responsible to them. for the manner in which he shall discharge his duties. From the manner in which he is elected, he more nearly represents a majority of the whole peo-He of the United State. than any other bias ch of the Government. Sir, one-fourth of the people may elect a decided majority of the Senate. Under the Constitution, we are the representatives of sovereign States, and little Delaware has an equal voice in this body with the Empire State. How is it in regard to the House of Representatives? Without a resort to the gerrymandering process which of late years has become so common, it may often happen, from the arrangement of the Congressional districts, that a minority of the people of a State will elect a majority of representatives to Congress. Not so in regard to the President of the United States. From necessity, he must be elected by the mass of the people in the several States. He is the creature of the people—the mere breath of their nos rils-and on him, as the tribune of the people, have they conferred the veto power.

is there any serious danger that such a magistrate will ever abuse this power? What earthly inducement can be have to pursue such a course? In the first place, during his first term, he will neit has been designated by the Schator. If it were, cessarily feel anxious to obtain the stamp of pub-I should go with him, heart and hand, for its aboli-lic approbation on his conduct, by a re election. tion. What is a monarchical prerogative? It is a For this reason, if no other existed, he will not arpower vested in an Emperor or King, neither elect- ray himself, by the exercise of the veto power

less in extreme cases, where, from strong convictions of public duty, he may be willing to draw down

upon himself their hostile influence.

In the second place, the Constitution leaves him in a state of dependence on Congress. Without their support, no measure recommended by him can become a law, an I no system of policy which he may have devised can be carried into execution. Deprived of their aid, he can do nothing. their cordial co-operation the success and glory of his administration must, in a great degree, depend. Is it, then, at all probable that he would make war upon Congress, by refusing to sanction any one of their favorite measures, unless he felt deeply conscious that he was acting in obedience to the will of the people, and could appeal to them for suppolt? Nothing short of such a conviction, unless it be to preserve his eath inviolate to support the Constitution, will ever induce him to exercise a power always oflious in the eyes of the majority in Congress, against which it is exerted.

But there is still another powerful influence which will prevent his abuse of the veto power The man who has been elevated by his fellow-citizens to the highest office of trust and dignity which a great nation can bestow, must necessarily feel a strong desire to have his name recorded in untarnished characters on the page of his country's history, and to live after death in the hearts of his countrymen. This consideration would forbid the abuse of the veto power. What is posthumous fame in almost every instance? Is it not the voice of posterity re-echoing the opinion of the present generation? And what body on the earth can give so powerful an impulse to public opinion, at least in this country, as the Congress of the United States ? Under all these circumstances we must admit that the opinion expressed by the Federalist is sound, and that "it is evident that there would be greater danger of his not using his power when necessary, than of his many it too citem. or too much " Such must also have been Mr. Jef-Who consuled by General ferson's orinion Washing on in April, 1792, as to the propriety of vetoing "the act for an apportion acut of Rapiesentatives among the several States, according to the first enumeration," what was his first reason in favor of the exercise of this power upon that obcastion? "Viewing the bill," says he, "either as a violation of the Constitution, or as giving an inconvenient exposition to its words, is it a case wherein the President ought to interpose his negative?" "I think it is." "The non user of his negative power b gins already to excite a belief that no President will ever venture to use it; and consequently, has begoiten a desire to raise up barriers in the State Legisla'w es against Congress throwing off the control of the Constitution." I shall not read the other teatons he has assigned, none of them being necessary for my present purpose. Perilous, indeed, I repeat, is the exercise of the veto power, and "no President will ever venture to use it," unless from the strongest sense of duty, and the strongest conviction that it will receive the public apprebation.

But, after all, what is the nature of this qualified appeal taken by the President from the decision of who shall ever affect to withdraw from the public

against a majority in both Houses of Congress, un- | Congress, in a particular case, to the tribunal of the sovereign people of the several States, who are equally the masters of both. If they decide against the President, their decision must finally prevail, by the admission of the Senator himself. The same President must either carry it into execution himself, or the next President whom they elect will do so. The veto never can do more than postpone legislative action on the measure of which it is the subject, until the will of the people can be fairly expressed. This suspension of action, if the people should not sustain the President, will not generally continue longer than two years, and it cannot continue longer than four. If the people, at the next elections, should return a majority to Congress hostile to the veto, and the same measure should be passed a second time, he must indeed be a bold man, and intent upon his own destruction, who would, a second time, arrest it by his veto. the popular voice has determined the question, the President would always submit, unless, by so doing, he clearly believed he would involve himself in the guilt of perjuty, by violating his oath to support the Constitution. At the end of four years, however, in any and every event, the popular will must and would be obeyed by the election of another President.

Sir, the Senator from Kentucky, in one of those beautiful passages which always abound in his speeches, has drawn a glowing picture of the isolated condition of kings, whose ears the voice of public opinion is never permitted to reach; and he has compared their condition in this particular, with that of the President of the United States. Here too, he said, the Chief Magistrate occupied an isolated station, where the voice of his country and the cries of its distress could not reach his ear. But is there any justice in this compatison? Such a picture may be true to the life when drawn for an European monarch; but it has no application whatever to a President of the United States. He, sir, is no more than the first citizen of this free Republic. No fortalis required in approaching his person, which can prevent the humblest of his fellow-citizens from communicating with him. approaching him, a freeman of this land is not compelled to decerate himself in fantastic robes, or adopt any particular form of dress, such as the court etiquette of Europe requires. The President intermingles freely with his fellow-citizens, and nears the opinions of all. The public press attacks him-political parties, in and out of Congress, assail him, and the thunders of the Senator's own denuncia. tory eloquence are reverberated from the Capitol, and reach the White House before its incumbent can lay his head upon his pillow. His every act is subjected to the severest scrutiny, and he reads in the newspapers of the day the decrees of publicepinion. Indeed it is the privilege of every body to assail him To contend that such a Chief Magistrate is isolated from the people, is to base an argument upon mere fancy, and not upon facts. No, sir; the President of the United States is more directly before the people, and more immediately respons ble to the people, than any other department veto under the Constitution? It is, in fact, but an of our Government: and wo be to that President

The Senator does not and cannot say that they ever changed a single vote. In the instances to which ne refers, they were the declaration of a fact which was known, or might have been known, to the whole world. A President can only be elected by a majority of the people of the several States. Throughout the canvass, his opinions and sentiments on every leading measure of public policy, are known and discussed. The last election was an exception to this rule; but another like it will never again occur in our day. If, under such circuinstances, an act should pass Congress, notoriously in violation of some principle of vital importance, which was decided by the people at his election, the President would be faithless to the duty which he owed both to them and to himself, if he did not disapprove the measure. Any person might then declare, in advance, that the President would veto such a bill. Let me imagine one or two cases which may readily occur. Is it not known from one end of the Union to the other, and even in every log cabin throughout its extent, that the Senator from Missouri [Mr. Benton] has an unconquerable antipathy to a paper currency, and an equally unconquerable predilection for hard money? Now, if he should be a candidate for the Presidency,-and much more unlikely events have happened than that he should be a successful candidate-would not his election be conclusive evidence that the people were in favor of gold and silver, and against paper? Under such circumstances, what else could Congress anticipate whilst concocting an old fashioned Bank of the United States, but that he would instantly veto the bill on the day it was presented to him, without even taking time to sit down in his Presidential chair? (Great laughter, in which Mr. Benton and Mr. CLAY both joined heartily.) Let me present a reverse case. Suppose the distinguished Senator from Kentucky should be elected President, would he hesitate, or, with his opinions, ought he to hesitate, a moment in vetoing an Independent Treasury bill, should Congress present him such a measure? And if I, as a member of the Senate, were to assert, in the first case which I have supposed, whilst the bank bill was pending, that it would most certainly be votoed, to what would this amount? Would it be an attempt to bring Executive influence to bear on Congress? Certainly not. It would only be the mere assertion of a well known fact. Would it prove any thing against the veto power? Certainly not; but directly the reverse. It would prove that it ought to be exercised-hat the people had willed, by the Presidential election, that it should be exercised—and that it was one of the very cases which demanded its exercise.

An anticipation of the exercise of the veto power, in cases which had already been decided by the people, ought to exercise a restraining influence over Congress. It should admonish them that they ought not to place the aselves in hostile array against the Executive, and thus embarrass the administration of the Government by the adoption of a measure which had been previously condemned by the people. If the measure be right in itself,

have been in bad taste; but what do they prove? ought Congress to act. No, sir; when we elect a President, we do it in view of his future course of action, inferred from his known opinions; and we calculate, with great accuracy, what he will and what he will not do. The people have never yet been deceived in relation to this matter, as has been abundantly shown by their approbation of every important veto since the origin of the Government.

This veto power was conferred upon the President to arrest unconstitutional, improvident, and hasty legislation. Its intention (if I may use a word not much according to my taste) was purely conservative. To adopt the language of the Federalist, "it establishes a salutary check upon the legislative body, calculated to guard the community against the effects of faction, precipitancy, or of any impulse unfriendly to the public good, which may happen to influence a majority of that body, " [Congress.] Throughout the whole book, whenever the occasion offers, a feeling of dread is expressed, lest the legislative power might transcend the limits prescribed to it by the Constitution, and ultimately absorb the other powers of the Government. From first to last, this fear is manifested. We ought never to forget that the representatives of the people are not the people themselves. The practical neglect of this distinction has often led to the overthrow of Republican institutions. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty; and the people should regard with a jealous eye, not only their Executive, but their legislative servants. The representative body, proceeding from the people, and clothed with their confidence, naturally lulls suspicion to sleep; and, when disposed to betray its trust, can execute its purpose almost before their constituents take the alaim.

It must have been well founded apprehensions of such a result which induced Mirabeau to declare, that, without a veto power in the king, who was no more, under the first Constitution of France, than the hereditary chief ex cutive magistrate of a Republic, he would rather live in Constantinople than in Paris. The catastrophe proved his wisdom; but it also proved that the veto was no barrier against the encroachments of the Legislative Assembly; nor would it have saved his own head from the block, had he not died at the most propitions moment for his fame.

I might appeal to many passages in the history of the world to prove that the natural tendency of legislative power has always been to increase itself; and the accumulation of this power has, in many instances, overthrown Republican institu-

Our system of representative Democracy, Heaven's last and best political gift to man, when perverted from its destined purpose, has become the instrument of the most cruel tyranny which the world has ever witnessed. Thus it is that the best things, when perverted, become the worst. ness the scenes of anarchy, confusion, and blood, from which humanity and reason equally revole, which attended the French revolution, du ing the period of the Legislative Assembly and National Convention. So dreadful were these scenes, all enacted in the name of the people, and by the peothe people will, at the subsequent elections, reverse ple's own representatives, that they stand out in their own decision, and then, and not till then, bold relief, from all the records of time, and are,

by the universal consent of mankind, denominated | seem to have foreseen. This is not a name, to be "the reign of terror." Under the government of the sure, for ears polite; yet, though homely, it is so Committee of Public Safety-a committee of the significant of the thing, that I shall be pardoned for National Convention-more blood was shed and its use. Now, sir, this very system of log-rolling more atrocities committed, than mankind had ever beheld within the same space of time. And yet all this was done in the name of liberty and equality. And what was the result? All this only paved the way for the usurgation of Napoleon Bonaparte; and the people sought protection in the arms of despotism from the tyranny and corruption of their own representatives. This has ever been the course in which Republics have degenerated into military despotisms. Let these sacred truths be ever kept in mind: that soveregnty belongs to the people alone, and that all their servants should be watched with the eyes of sleepless jealousy. The Legislative Assembly and the National Convention of France had usurped all the powers of the Government. They each, in their turn, constituted the sole representative body of the nation, and no wist checks and barriers were in erposed to moderate and restrain their action. The example which they presanted has convit cad all manking of the necessity of a Senate in a Republic; and similar reasons ought to convince them of the necessity of such a qualified veto as exists under our Constitution. The people cannot interpose too many barriers against unwire and wicked legislation, provided they do not thereby impair the necessary powers of the Gevernment. I know full well that such scenes as 1 have just described cannot occur in America; but still we may learn lessons of wisdom from them to guide our own conduct.

Legislative bodies of any considerable number are more hable to sudden and violent excitements than individuals. This we have all often witnessed; and it results from a well known principle of human nature. In the midst of such excitements, nothing is more ratural than hasty, rash, and dangerous legislation. Individual responsibility is, also, dimin. Led. in proportion to the increase of Each person, constituting but a the number. small fractional part of the whole mass, thinks he can e-cape responsibility in the midst of the crowd. The restraint of the popular will upon his conduct is thus greatly diminished, and as one of a number he is ready to perform acts which he would not attempt upon his own individual responsibility. In order to check such excesses, the Federalist tells us that this veto power, or reference of the subject to

Again, sir, highly excited political parties may exist in legislative assemblies, so intent upon grasping or retaining power, that in the struggle they will forget the wishes and the interests of the people. I might cite several examples of this kind in the history of our own legislation; but I merely refer to the edicus and unconstitutional alien and sedition laws. Lad on by ambitious and eloquent men who have become highly excited in the cintest, the triumph of party may become paramount to the good of the country, and unconstitutional and dangerous laws may be the consequence. The veto power is necessary to arrest such encroachments on the rights of the States and of the people.

the people, was granted.

But worst of all is the system of "leg-rolling," so prevalent in Congress and the State Legislatures, which the authors of the Federalist do not!

in legislative bodies is that which has involved several of the States in debts for internal improvements, which I fear some of them may never be able to pay. In order to carry improvements which were useful and might have been productive, it was necessary to attach to them works of an opposite character. To obtain money to meet these extravagant expenditures, indulgence was granted to the banks at the expense of the people. Indeed it has been a fruitful source of that whole system of ruinous and disastrous measures against which the Democracy have been warring for years. It has produced more distress in the country than can be repaired by industry and reconomy for many days to come. And yet how rarely has any Executive had the courage to apply the remedy which the veto power presents?

Let us, for a moment, examine the workings of this system. It is the more dangerous, because it presents itself to individual members under the garb of devotion to their constituents. One has a measure of mere local advantage to carry, which ought, if at all, to be accomplished by individual enterprise, and which could not pass if it stood alone. He finds that he cannot accomplish his object, if he relies only upon its merits. He finds that other members have other local objects at heart, none of which would receive the support of a majority if separately considered. These members, then, form a combination sufficiently powerful to carry the whole; and thus twenty measures may be adopted, not one of which separately could have obtained a respectable vote. Thanks to the wisdom and energy of General Jackson, this system of local internal improvements which threatened to extend itself into every neighborhood of the nation, and oversmead the land, was arrested by the veto power. Had not this been done, the General Government might, at the present day, have been in the same wretched condition with the most indebted States.

But this system of "log-rolling" has not been confined to mere local affairs, as the history of the extra session will testify. It was then adopted in regard to important party objects, and was called the "great system of measures of the Whig party." It was openly avowed that the majority must take the system in mass, although it is well known that several of the measures, had they stood alone, would have been rejected in detail. We are all would have been rejected in detail. We are all perfectly aware that this was the vital principle of the extra session. By means of "log-rolling" the system was adopted. That the passage of the Distribution bill was the price paid for the Bankrupt bill, was openly avowed on this floor. By what mutual compensations the other measures were carried we are left to infer, and therefore I shall not bazard the expression of any opinion in this place on the subject. The ingredient, which one member could not swallow alone, went down easily as a component part of the healing dose. And what has been the consequence? The extravagant appropriations and enormous expenses of the extra session have beggared the Treasury.

It is to check this system, that the veto power

eye, and seclude himself in the recesses of the Ex-1 ecutive mansion!

The Scnator has said, and with truth, that no veto of the President has ever been overruled, since the origin of the Government. Not one. Although he introduced this fact for another purpose than that which now induces me to advert to it, yet it is not the less true on that account. Is not this the strongest possible argument to prove that there never yet has been a veto, in violation of the public will?

[Here Mr. CLAY observed that there had been repeated instances of majorities in Congress decid-

ing against vetoes]

Mr. Buchanan resumed. I am now speaking of majorities, not of Congress, but of the people. I shall speak of majorities in Congress presends.

Why, sir, has no veto been ever overruled? Simply because the President has never exercised, and never will exercise this perilon, power on any important occasion, unless firmly convinced that he is right, and that he will be su tained by the Standing slove, with the whole responsibility of his high official dute, pressing upon him, he will never brave the enormous power and lattaence of Congress, unless he cols a moral certain'y that toe people will gone to the rescue. When he ventures to differ from C busicss, and appeal to the people, the chances are all against him. The members of the Senale and the House are numerous, and are scattered over ille whole conntry, whilst the President is but an individual confined to the city of Washington. Their percenal influence with tarif constituents is, and mus to great. In such a struggie, he must main'y rely upon the pairable justice of his cause. Under ih se circumstances, does it not speak volumes in layor of the discretion with which the veto power has been exercised, that it has never once been overruled, in a single instance, since the origin of the Gavernment, either by a majority of the people in the several States, or by the constitutional majority in Congress?

It is truly a-tonishing how rarely this power has ever been exercised. During the period of more than half a century which has clapsed since the meeting of the first Congress under the Constitution, about six thousand legislative hats have been passed. How many of these, sir, do you suppose have been disapproved by the Oto-ident? Twenty, sir; twenty is the whole number. I speak from a list now in my hand prepared by one of the clerks of the Senate. And this number embraces not merely those bills which have been actually veloed; but all such as were retained by him under the Constitution, in consequence of having been presented at so late a period of the session that he could not prepare his objections previous to the adjournment. Thenty is the sum total of ali!

Let us analyze these, vetoes, (for I rhall call them all by that name,) for a few moments. Of the twenty, eight were on bills of small comparative importance, and excited no public attention. Congress at once yielded to the President's objections, and in one remarkable instance, a veto of General Jackson was laid upon the table on the motion of the Senator from Kentucky himself. No attempt on any important act of Congress, except the one

was even made to pass the bill in opposition to this veto, and no one Senator contested its propriety. Eleven of the twelve remaing vetoes upon this list, relate to only three subjects. These are, a Bank of the United States; internal improvements in different forms; and the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands among the several States. There have been four vetoes of a Bank of the United States; one by Mr Madison, one by General Jackson, and two by Mr. Tyler. There have been six velues on internal improvements, in different forms; one by Mr. Madison, one by Mr. Monroe, and four by General Jackson. And General Jackson vetord the bill to distribute the proceeds of the sales of the public lands among the several States. These make the eleven.

The remaining veto was by General Washingington; and it is remarkable that it should be the most questionable exercise of this power which has ever occurred. I refer to his second and last veto, on the first of March, 1797, and but three dats before he retired from office, on the "Act to alter and amend an act, entitled an act to ascertain and fix the military establishment of the United States." In his metance, there was a majority of nearly two-thirds in the House of Representatives, where it originated, in favor of passing the act, not with tanding the objections of the Father of his Country. The vote was filly-five in the athemative to thirty-six in the negative. This ant provided for the reduction of the military establishment of the country; and the day will probably never assin arrive when any President will venture to yeto an act reducing the stancing army of the United States.

Then in the range of time since the year 1789, there have been but twenty vetees; and eleven of these related to only three sp' jects which have radical y divide t the two great political porties of the country. With the exception of twenty, all the acts which have ever passed Congress, have been allowed to take their course without any Executive interference.

That this nower has never been abuse!, is as clear as the light of the sun. I ask Sen nors, and I appreal to yeu, sic, whether the American people have not sanctioned every one of the vetoes on the three creat seij e's to which I have re-erred. Yes, sir, every one, not excepting those on the Fiscal Bank and Fiscal Corporation—the leading measures of the evira session. Notwithstanding the colemn denuaciation against the President, made by the Wing party, and their appeal to the people, there has been no election held since that session in which the people have not declared, in a voice of thunder, their approbation of the two vetoes of President Tyler. I shall not, upon the present occasion, discuss the question whether all or any of these vetce, were right or wrong. I merely state he incontrover the fact that they have all been approved by the American people.

The character of the bills vetoed shows conclusively the striking contrast between the veto power when entrusted to an elective and responsible Chief Magistrate, and when conferred upon a European sovereign as a royal prerogative. All the vetees which an American President has imposed

by General Washington, to which I have alluded, therefore, held on by means of the veto to septenacts have all been returned, accompanied by mescutive power, which they proposed to grant. Exerting the influence which these ac's proposed to confer upon him, the President might, indeed, have made long strides towards the attainment of monarchical power. Had a National Bank been established under his control, uniting the moneyed with the political power of the country;had a splendid system of internal improvements tion.] been adopted and placed under his direction, presenting prospects of occuniary advantage to almost every individual throughout the land; and in addition to all this, had the States become pensioners on the bounty of the Federal Government for the amount of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, we might soon have witnessed a powerful consolidated Government, with a chief at its head far different from the plain and unpretending President recognised by the Constitution. The Gencral Government might then have become every thing, whilst the State Governments would have sunk to nothing. Thanks to the vetoes of our Presidents, and not to Congress, that most of these evils have been averted. Had these acts been all approved by the President, it is my firm conviction that the Senator himself-would as deeply have deplored the consequences as any other true patriot, and that he would forever have regretted his own agency in substantially changing the form of our Government. Had these bills become laws, the Executive power would then have strode over all the other powers of the Constitution; and then, indeed, the Senator might have justly compared the President of the United States with the monarchs of Europe. Our Presidents have had the self-denying firmness to render all these attempts abortive to bestow on themselves extraordinary powers, and have been content to confine themselves to those powers conferred on them by the Con titu-They have protected the rights of the States and of the people from the unconstitutional means of influence which Congress had placed with n their gra p. Such have been the costs quinces of the velo power in the ham's of our elective their magistr te.

For what purposes has this partier been exerted by European monarchs with whom our President has been compared? When exercised at all, it has always bein for the purpose of maintaining the royal prerogative and arresting the march of popalar liberty. There have been but two in-tances of its exercise in England since the Revolution of 1683. The first was in 1692, by Wildam the Third, the rival of Louis the Fourteenth, and be youd question the ablest man who has an upon the throne of Great Britain for the last century and a half. He had the hardihood to veto the Earl of Shrewsbury's bill, which had passed both Houses, limiting the duration of Parlia-

have been so many instances of self-denial. These nial Parliaments. And what did George the Third de? In 1806, he vetoed the Catholic Eman. sages remonstrating against the extension of Exe-cipation bill, and thus continued to hold in political bondage millions of his fellow men, because they insisted upon worshipping their God according to the dictates of their own conscience.

[Here Mr. CLAY observed that this was a mistake, and expressed his belief that upon the occasion alluded to, the matter had gone no further han the resignation of the Grenville administra-

Mr. Buchanay. I shall they read my authority. It is to be found in "Random Recollections of the House of Lords, by Mr. Grant," page 25. The au'hor says:

"But if the King retuse his signature to it [a bill] as George the Third did in the cose of the Catholic Emancipation bill of 1806, it necessarily falls to the ground. The way in which the King intimates his determination not to give his assent to the measure, is not by a positive refusal in so many words; he simply observes, in answer to the application made to him for that purpose, 'Le Roi s'avisera,' namely, 'The King will con-sider of it,' which is un letstood to be a final determination not to sanction the measure.

But, sir, he this author correct or incorrect, as to the existence of a veto in 1806, it is a matter of trifling importance in the present argument.* I adunit that the exercise of the veto power has fallen into disuse in England since the revolution. And what are the reasons? First, because its exercise by a herediary tovereign to preserve unimpaired the prerogatives of the crown against the voice of the people, is always an odious exertion of the royal prerogative. It is far different from its exercise by an elective magistrate, acting in the character of a tribune of the people, to preserve their rights and liberties unimpaired. And secondly, because this veto power is no longer necessary to secure the prerogatives of the crown against the assaults of popular liberty.

Two centuries ago, the people of England asserted their rights by the sword against their sovereign. They dethround and beheaded him. Since that time, the Kirgs of England have changed their course. They have discovered from experience that it was much easier to govern Farliament by means of the pattonage and money at the comhand of the or we, then epenly to resist it by the to power. The system has sucreed d admirably. influeaco has taken the place of prerogative; and s are the days of Talpole, when the votes of memers were purchas d'a most without disguise, corruption has nearly destroyed the independent action of Pasiliam int. It has now descended into the ranks of the people and threutens destruction to the institutions of that or an ry. In the recent contest or power between the Whigs and the Tories, the pargain and sale of the votes of the clockers was

Mr. Buchanan cassnot discover, after careful examination, that any Catholic Emancipation Bell was vetoed by George the of Shrewsbury's bill, which had passed both Houses, limiting the duration of Parliaments to three, instead of seven years, and requiring annual sessions to be held. He dreaded the influence which members of the House of Commons, responsible to their constituents at the end of each period of three years, might exert against his royal power and prerogatives; and, royal prerogative beyond the veto power. Third in 1806, according to the statement of Mr Grant.

of both parties sought no disguise. In many places the price of a vote was fixed, like any other commodity in the market. These things have been proclaimed without contradiction on the floor of Parliament. The Tories had the most money to expend; and the cause of dear bread, with a starving population, prevailed over the modification or repeal of the corn laws. In a country so venal, it is easy for the crown, by a politic distribution of its honors, effices, and emoluments, and if these should all fail, by a direct application of money, to preserve its prerogatives without the use of the vcto power.

Besides, the principal ministers of the crown are always members of the House of Lords or the House of Commons, It is they who originate the important laws; and they, and they alone, are responsible, because it is a maxim of the British Government, that the King can do no wrong. If they cannot maintain a majority in Parliament by the use of the patronage and influence of the erown, they must yield their places to their successful rivale; and the King, without the least hesitation, will receive as his confidential advisers to m grow, the very men whose principles he had condemned but yesterday. Such is a King of England. He

can do no wrong. On one memorable occasion, when the ministers of the crown themselves-I refer to the coalition administration of Mr. Fox and Lord North-had passed their East India Bill through the House of Commons, it was defeated in the House of Lords by the direct personal influence of the sovereign. George the Third, it is known, would have vetoed that birl, had it passed the House of Lords; and well he might. It was an attempt by his own ministers to obtain possession of the wealth and the power of India, and to use them for the purpose of controlling both the sovereign and the people of England. This was not the common case of a mere struggle between opposite parties as to which should administer the Government, about which the sover-ign of England might be perfectly indifferent; but it was an attempt to deprive the crown

Under such circumstances, can the Senator seriously contend that, because the veto power has been disused by the kings of England, therefore, it ought to be taken from the President of the United States? The King is a hereditary sovereign -the President an elective magistrate. The King is not responsible to the people for the administration of the Executive Government—the President is alone responsible. The King could feel no in terest in using the veto power, except to maintain the prerogatives of the crown; and it has been shown to be wholly unnecessary for this purpore; whilst the President has never exerted it on any important occasion, but in obedience to the public will, and then only for the purpose of preventing encroachments by Congress on the Constitution of the country, on the rights of the States, and on the liberties of the people.

of its power and preregatives.

The Senator is mistaken in supposing that the veto power has never been exercised in France. It the Government of Louis Philippe; but his Govern-land this must be ratified by three-fourths of the

open and notorious. The bribery and corruption | ment is as yet nothing but a mere experiment. has now existed less than twelve years, and during this short period there have been nineteen different cabinets. I saw a list of them a few days ago, in one of the public journals. To cite the example of such a Government as authority here, is to prove that a Senator is hard run for arguments. The unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth, used the suspensive veto power conferred upon him by the first French Constitution, upon more than one occasion; but he used it not to enforce the will of the people as our Presidents have done, but against public orinion, which was at that time omnipotent in These vetoes proved but a feeble barrier France. against the tremendous torrent of the Revolution, which was at that time overwhelming all the corrupt and tyrannical institutions of the ancient monarchy.

The S nator has referred to the Declaration of Independence, to show that the exercise of this veto power by the King on the acts of the colonial Legislatures was one of the causes of the Revolu-In that instrument he is charged with having "refused his assent to laws the most who 'nsome and necessary for the public good." In those days a douceur was presented, in Pennsylvania, to the Proprietary Governor, with every act of A tembly in which the people felt a deep interest. I state this fact on the authority of Dr. Franklin. After the act was approved by the Governor, it had then to be sent three thousand miles across the Atlantic for the approbation of a hereditary sovereign, in no manner responsible to the people of this country. It would have been strange, indeed, had not this power been abused under such circum-tances. This was like the veto of Augus'us after he had usurped the liberties of the Roman people, and made himself sole tribune-not like that of the tribunes annually elected by the Roman people. This was not the veto of James Madison, Andrew Jackson, or John Tyler-not the veto of a freeman, responsible to his fellow-freemen for the faithful and honest exercise of his important rust. This power is either democratic or arbitraty, as the authority exercising it may be dependent on the people or independent of them.

But, sir, this veto power, which I humbly apprehard to be a sful in every State Government, ce. comes absolutely necessary under the peculiar and e mplex form of the Federal Government. To this p int I desire especially to direct the attention of the Senate. The Federal Constitution was a work of riutual compromise and concession; and the States which occame parties to it, must take the evil with the good. A majority of the people within each of the several States have the inherent right to c ange, modify, and amend their Constitution at pleasure. Not so with respect to the Federal Constitution. In regard to it, a majority of the people of the United States can exercise no such power. And why? Simply because they have solemnly surrendered it, in consideration of obtaining by this surrender all the blessings and benefits of our glorious Union. It requires two-thirds of the representatives of the States in the Senate, and two-thirds of the Representatives of the people in the House, is true, I believe, that it has never been exerted by even to propose an amendment to the Constitution; States before it can take effect. Even if twenty-|monstrated, consists in the establishment of such five of the twenty-six States of which the Union is composed should determine to deprive "little Delaware" of her equal representation in the Senate, she could defy them all, whilst this Constitution shall endure. It declares that "no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage

in the Senate."

As the Constitution could not have been adopted except by a majority of the people in every State of the Union, the members of the convention believed that it would be reasonable and just to require that three-fourths of the States should concur in changing that which all had adopted, and to which ell had become parties. To give it a binding force upon the conscience of every public functionary, each Senator and Representative, whether in Congress or the several State Legislatures, and every executive and judicial officer, whether State or Federal, is bound solemnly to swear or affirm that he will support the Consultation.

Now, sir, it has been said, and said truly by the Senator, that the will of the majority ought to pre vail. This is an axiom in the science of liberty which nobody will at the present day dispute. Under the Federal Constitution, this will must be declared in the manner which it has prescribed; and sconer or later, the majority must and will be obeyed in the enactment of laws. But what is this majority to which we are all bound to yald? Is it the majority of Senators and R. presentatives in Congress, or a majority of the people themselves? The fallacy of the Senator's argument, from beginning to end. consists in the assumption that Congress, in every situation and under every cheumstance, truly represent the deliberate will of the people. The framer of the Con-titunon believed it might be otherwise: and therefore they imposed the restriction of the qualified veto of the President upon the legislative action of Congress.

What is the most glorious and useful invention of modern times in the science of free Government? Undoubtedly, written Constitutions. For want of these, the ancient Republics were seenes of turinglence, violence and disorder, and ended in self-destruction. And what are all our constitutions, bu restraints imposed, not by arbitrary authority, but by the people upon themselves and their own Representatives? Such throughout is the character of the And it is this Constitution Federal Constitution. thus restricted, which has so long secured out liberty and presperity, and has endeared itself to the

heart of every good cit zen.

This system of self-imposed re-train's is a necessary element of our social condition. Every wise and virtuous man adopts resolutions by which he regulates his conduct, for the purpose of coun teracting the evil propensises of his nature, and preventing him from yielding under the impulses of sudden and strong temp ation. Is such a man the less free-the less independent, because he chooses to submit to these self-imposed restraints? In like manner, is the majority of the people less free and less independent, because it has chosen to impose constitutional restrictions upon itself and Is this any abridgement of its Representatives? popular liberty?

counteracting powers, -- powers always, created by the people themselves, -as shall render it morally certain that no law can be passed by their servants which shall not be in accordance with their will.

and calculated to promote their good.

It is for this reason that a Senate has been established in every State of the Union to control the House of Representatives: and I presume there is new scarcely an individual in the country who is not convinced of its necessity. Fity years ago, opinions were much divided upon this subject, and nothing but experience has setiled the question. In France, the National Assembly, although they retained the King, rejected a Senate as aristocratic, and our own Franklin was opposed to it. He thought that the popular branch was alone necesary to reflect the will of the people, and that a Senate would be but a more incumbrance. His influence prevailed in the Convention which framed the first Constitution for Perusilvania, and we had no The Dictor's argument against it was Senate. contained in one of his homely but striking illus-Why, said he, will you place a horse in trations. front of a cart to draw it forward, and another behird to pull it back? Experience, which is the wisest teacher, has demonstrated the fallacy of tais and all other similar atgettrents, and public opinion is now unanimous on the subject. Where is the man who does not now feel that the control of a Senate is necessary to restrain and modify the action of the popular branch?

And how is our own Senate composed? Onefourth of the people of this Union, through the agency of the State Legislatures, can send a majority into this chamber. A bill may pass the House of Representatives by a unanimous vote, and ret be defeated here by a majority of Senators representing but one-fourth of the prople of the United States. Why does not the Senator from illentucky propose to abolish the Senate? His argument would be much stronger against its exitende than against that of the veto power in the hands of a Chief Magistrate, who, in this particular, is the true representative of the majority of the

whole people.

All the beauty and harmony and order of the universe arise from counteracting influences. When its great Author, in the beginning, gave the planets their projectile impulse, they would bave rushed in a straight line through the realms of boundless space, had he not restrained them within their prescribed orbits by the counteracting influrace of gravitation. All the valuable inventions in mechanics consist in blending simple powers together so as to restrain and regulate the action of each other. Restraint-restraint-not that imposed by aribitrary and irresponsible power, but by the people themselves, in their own written constituions, is the great law which has rendered Demoeratic Representative Government so successful in these latter times. The best security which the people can have against abuses of trust by their public servants, is to ordain that it snall be the duty of one class of them to watch and restrain another. Sir, this Federal Government, in its legislative at-The true philosophy of Republi-tributes, is nothing but a system of restraints from can Government, as the history of the world has de-I beginning to end. In order to enact any bill into a law, in the House, and also by the representatives of the poly in favor of our own ship building and navigasovereign States in the Senate, where, as I have ling interest. Should Congress, influenced by observed before, it may be defeated by Senators these or any other considerations, ever pass an act from States containing but one fourth of the popu- to open this trade to the competition of folation of the country. After it has undergone these reigners, there is no man fit to fill the Exetwo ordeals, it must yet be subjected to that of the cutive chair who would not place his veto upon Executive, as the tribune of the whole people, for his approbation. If he should exercise his veto power, it cannot become a law unless it be passed by a majority of two thirds of both Houses. These are the mutual restraints which the people have imposed on their public servant, to preserve their own rights and those of the State. from rash, hasty, and impolitic legis'ation. No treaty with a foreign power can be binding upon the people of this country unless it shall receive the assent of the President and two thirds of the Senate; and this is the restraint which the people have imposed on the treaty-making power.

All these restraints are peculiarly necessary to protect the rights and preserve the harmony of the different States which compose our Union. It now consists of twen'y-six distinct and independent States, and this number may yet be considerably increased. These States differ essentially from each other in their domestic institutions, in the character of their population, and even, to some extent, in their language. They embrace every variety of soil, climate, and productions. In an enlarged view, I believe their interests to b all identical; although, to the eye of local and so tional prejudice, they always appear to be conflicting. In such a condition, mutual jealousies must arise, which can only be repressed by that mutual forbearance which pervades the Consitu-To legislate wisely for such a people is a task of extreme delicacy, and requires much selfrestraining prudence and caution. In this point of view, I firmly believe that the veto power is one of the best safeguards of the Union. By this power. the majority of the people in every State have decreed that the existing laws shall remain unchanged. unless not only a majority in each House of Con gress, but the President also, shall sanction the change. By these wise and wholesome restrictions, they have secured themselves, so far as human prudence can, against hasty, oppressive, and dangerous legislation.

The rights of the weaker portions of the Union will find one of their greatest securities in the veto power. It would be easy to imagine interests of the deepest importance, to particular sections which might be seriously endangered hy its destruction. For example, not more than one-third of the Slates have any direct interest in the coasting trade. This trade is now se cured to American vessels, not merely by a protec tive duty, but by an absolute prohibition of all foreign competition. Suppose the advocates of free trade run mad should excite the jealousy of the Senators and Representatives from the other twothirds of the States, against this comparatively local interest, and convince them that this trade ought to be thrown open to foreign navigation. By such a competition, they might contend that the

it must be passed by the representatives of the people | not to be taxed in order to sustain such a monoit, and thus refer the subject to the sober determination of the American people. To deprive the navigating States of this privilege, would be to aim a duadly blow at the very existence of the Unton.

Let me suppose another case of a much more dangerous character. In the Southern States, which compose the weaker portion of the Union, a species of property exists which is now attracting the attention of the whole civilized world. These States never would have become parties to the Union, had not their rights in this property been secored by the Federal Constitution. Foreign and domestic tanatics-some from the belief that they are doing God's service, and others from a desire to divide and destroy this glorious Republie-have conspired to emancipate the Southern slaves. On this question, the people of the Couth, bey and the limits of their own States, stand alone and unsupported by any power on earh, ear pt that of the Morthern Democracy. These fanatical plalanthrogists are now conducting a cru ale over the whole world, and are cudeavoring to concentrate the public opinion of all manking against this right of property. Suppose they should ever coffuence a majority in both Houses of Coronas to pais a law, not to abolish this property-to: that would be too palpab'c a violation of the Constite tion-but to render it of no value, under the le to, but against the spirit of some one of the powers are sted: will any lover of his country say that the President cught not to possess the power of atresting such an act by his veto, until the soleum decision of the people should be known on this question, involving the life or death of the Union? We, an, of the non-slaveholding States, onered the Union upon the express e notion nat this property should be protected. Who ever may be our own private of intons in regard to slavery in the abstract, cught we to hazard all the ble sines of our free institutions-our Union and or strength-in such a crusade against our brehien of the South? Ought we to jeopard every poidical right we hold dear for the sake of enabling these fanatics to invade Southern rights, and render that fair portion of our common inheritance a seene of servile war, rapine and murder? Shati we apply the torch to the magnificent temple of human liberty which our forefathers reared at the price of their blood and treasure, and permit all we hold dear to perish in the conflagration? I trust not.

It is possible that at some future day the majority in Concress may attempt, by indirect means, to emancipate the slaves of the South. There is no knowing through what channel the ever active spirit of fanaticism may seek to accomplish its object. The attempt may be made through the taxing power, or some other express power granted by the Constitution. God only knows how it may be made. price of freight would be reduced, and that the pro- It is hard to say what means fanaticism may not ducers of cotton, wheat, and other articles, ought adopt to accomplish its purpose. Do we feel so

at home, as to be willing to prostrate any of the barriers which the Constitution has reared against hasty and dangerous legislation? No, sir, never was the value of the veto power more manifest than at the present moment. For the weaker por tion of the Union, whose constitutional rights are now assailed with such violence, to think of abandoning this safeguard, would be almost suicidal. It is my solemn conviction, that there never was a wiser or more beautiful adaptation of theory to practice in any Government than that which requires a majority of two-thirds in both Houses of Congress to pass an act returned by the President with his objections, under all the high responsibilities which he owes to his country.

Sir, ours is a glorious Constitution. Let us venerate it-let us stand by it as the work of great and good men, unsurpassed in the history of any age or nation. Let us not ascail it rashly with our invading hands, but honor it as the fountain of our prosperity and power. Let us protect it as the only system of Government which could have rendered us what we are in half a century, and enabled us to take the front rank among the nations of the earth. In my opinion, it is the only form of Government which can preserve the blessings of liberty and prosperity to the people, and at the same time secure the rights and sovereignty of the States. Sir, the great mass of the people are unwilling that it shall be changed. Although the Senator from Kentucky, to whom I cannot and do not auribute any but patriotic motives, has brought him elf to believe that a change is necessary, especially in the veto power, I must differ from him entirely, convinced that his opinions on this subject are based upon fallacious theories of the nature of our institutions. This view of his opinions is strengthened by his declarations the other day as to the illimitable rights of the majority in Congress. On that point he differs essentially from the framers of the Constitution. They believed that the people of the different States had rights which might be violated by such a majority; and the veto power was one of the modes which they devised for preventing these rights from being invaded.

The Senator, in support of his objections to the veto power, has used what he denominates a numerical argument, and asks, can it be supposed that any President will possess more wisdom than nine Schators and forty Representatives. (This is the number more than a bare majority of each body which would at present be required to pass a bill by a majority of two third-.) To this question, my answer is, no, it is not to be so supposed at all All that we have to suppose is, what our ancestors. in their acknowledged wisdom, did suppose; that Senators and Representatives are but mertal men, endowed with mortal passions and subject to mortal infirmities; that they are susceptible of selfish and unwise impulses, and that they do not always, and under all circumstances, truly reflect the will

secure, in this hour of peril from abroad and peril | hands of the people's own representative, the President of the United States, by means of which, unless two thirds of each House of Congress should repass the bill, the question must be brought directly before the people themselves. These wise men had made the President so dependent on Congress that they knew he would never abuse this power, nor exert it unless from the highest and most solemn convictions of duty; and experience has established their wisdom and foresight.

As to the Senator's numerical argument, I might as well ask him, is it to be supposed that we are so superior in wisdom to the members of the House that the vote of one Senator ought to annul the votes of thirty-two Representatives? And yet the bill to repeal the Bankrupt law has just been defeated in this body by a majority of one, although it had passed the House by a majority of thirty two. The Senator's numerical argument, if it be good for any thing at all, would be good for the abolition of the Senate as well as of the veto; and would lead at once to the investment of all the powers of legislation in the popular branch alone. But experience has long exploded this theory throughout the world. The framers of the Constitution, in consummate wisdom, thought proper to impose checks, and balances, and restrictions on their Governmental agents; and wo betide us, if the day should ever arrive when they shall be removed.

But I must admit that another of the Sena or's arguments is perhaps not quite so easily refuted, though, I think, it is not very difficult to demonstrate its fallacy. It is undoubtedly his strongest position. He says that the tendency of the veto power is to draw after it all the powers of legislation; and that Congress, in passing laws, will be compelled to consult, not the good of the country alone, but to ascertain, in the first instance, what the President will approve, and then regulate their conduct according to his predetermined will.

This argument presupposes the existence of two facts, which must be established before it can have the least force. First, that the President would depart from his proper sphere, and attempt to influence the initiatory logislation of Congress: and, second, that Congress would be so subservient as to origina'e and pass laws, not according to the dictates of their own judgment, but in obedience to his expressed wishes. Now, sir, does not the Senator perceive that his argument proves too much? Would not the President have precisely the same influence over Congress, so far as his patronage extends, as if the veto had never existed at all? He would then resemble te King of England, whose veto power has been almost abandoned for the last hundred and fifty years. If the President's power and patronage were coextensive with that of the King, he could exercise an influence over Congress similar to that which is now exerted over the British Parliament, and might control legislation in the same manner.

Thus, sir, you perceive that to deprive the Presiof their constituents. These founders of our Go-dent of the veto cower, would afford no remedy vernment, therefore, supposed the possibility that against Executive influence in Congress, if the Congress might pass an act through the influence President were disposed to exert it. Nay, moreof unwise or improper motives; and that the best it would encourage him to interfere secretly with mode of saving the country from the evil effects of our legislative functions, because, deprived of the such legislation was to place a qualified veto in the veto power, his only resource would be to intrigue venting the passage of measures which he might ter, the President has but few boons to offer. disapprove. At present this power enables him to act openly and boldly, and to state his reasons to the country for refusing his assent to any act passed by Congress.

Again: does not the Senator perceive that this argument is a direct attack upon the character of Congress? Does he not feel that the whole weight of his argument in favor of abolishing the veto power, rests upon the wisdom, integrity, and independence of that body? And yet we are told that in order to prevent the application of the veto, we shall become so subservient to the Executive, that in the passage of laws we will consult his wishes rather than our own independent judgment. venality and baseness of Congress are the only foundations on which such an argument can rest; and yet it is the presumption of their integrity and wisdom on which the Senator relies for the purpose of proving that the veto power is wholly unnecessary, and ought to be aboli-hed.

In regard to this thing of Executive influence over Congress, I have a few words to say. Sir, 1 have been an attentive observer of Congressional proceedings for the last twenty years, and have watched its operations with an observing eye. I shall not pretend to say that it does not exist to some extent; but its power has been greatly overrated. It can never become dangerous to liberty. unless the patranage of the Government should be enormously increased by the passage of such untherto fallen under the blow of the veto power.

The Executive, indeed, will always have personal friends, as well as ardent political supporters of his administration in Congress, who will strongly incline to view his measures with a favorable eye. He will, also, have, both in and out of Congress, expectants who look to him for a share of the patronage at his disposal. But, after all, to what does this amoun?

Whilst the canvass is proceeding previous to his election, the expectations of candidates for office will array around him a host of aident and active friends. But what is his condition after the election has passed, and the patronage has been distributed? Let me appear to the scene which we all witnessed in this city, at and after the inauguration of the la e lamented President. It is almost impo sible that one office seeker in fifty could have been gratified. What is the natural and necessary result of such numerous deappointments? It is to irritate the feelings and sour the minds of the unsuccessful applicants. They make comparisous b tween themselves and those who have been successful, and self love always exaggerates their own merits and depreciates those of their successful rivals, to such an extent, that they believe themselves to have been injured. The President thus often makes one inactive friend, because he feels

with members of Congress for the purpose of pre- and the first regular meeting of Congress thereaf-

Again: it is always an odious exercise of Executive power to confer offices on members Congress, unless under peculiar circumstances, where the office seeks the man rather than the man the office. In point of fact, but few members can receive appointments; and those soliciting them are always detected by their conduct. They are immediately noted for their subserviency; and from that momen', their influence with their fellow members is gone.

By far the greatest influence which a President can acquire over Congress, is a reflected influence from the people upon their Representatives is dependent upon the personal popularity of the President, and can never be powerful, unless, from the force of his character, and the value of his past services, he has inspired the people with an enthusiastic attachment. A remarkable example of this reflected influence was presented in the case of General Jackson; and yet it is a high compliment to the independence, if not to the wisdom of Congress, that even he could rarely command a majority in both its branches. Still it is certain, notwi hstanding, that he presented a most striking example of a powerful Executive; and this chiefly because he was deservedly strong in the affec-

tions of the peorle.

In the vicissitude of human events, we shall sometimes have Presidents who can, if they please, exercise too much, and those who possess too little constitutional and encroaching laws as have hi-linfluence over Congress. If we witnessed the one extreme during General Jackson's administration, we now have the other before our eyes. For the sake of the contrast, and without the slightest disrespect towards the worthy and amiable individual who now occupies the Presidential chair, I would tay that if General Jackson presented an example of the streng h, the present President presents an equally striking example of the fc-bleness, of Executive influence. I ask what has all the patronage of his high office done for him? How many friends has it secured? I most sincerely wish, for the good of the country, and for the success of his administration, that he had a much greater degree of influence in Congress than he possesses. It is for this ceasen that I was glad to observe, a few days eac, some symptoms of returning favor on this (the Waic) side of the house towards. John Tyfor. It is better, much better, even thus late, that they should come to ward and extend to him a helping hand, than wishing to do so, still keep at a distance merely to preserve an appearance of considency. I am sorry to see that from this mere affectation, they should appear so coy, and leave the country to suffer all the embarrassments which result from a weak Admistration. [Here several of the Whig Senators asked jocosely why the Demeerats did not volunteer their se vices to strengthen the Government.] Oa! said Mr. B. we cannot himself secure in office, and twenty secret enemies do that. What is increly an apparent inconsisawaiting the opportunity to give him a stab when-tency in the Whigs, would be a real inconsistency ever a (avorable occasion may offer. The Sena- in us. We cannot go for the Whig measures tor greatly overrates the power of Executive in which were approved by President Tyler at the fluence either among the people or in Congress. extra session. We cannot support the great Go-By the time the offices have been all distributed, vernment Exchequer Bank of discount and exwhich is usually done between the inauguration change, with its three for one paper currency. A

and hand for the Exchiquer Bank. It is in substance his own scheme of a "Fireal Corporation," transferred into the Treasury of the United States, and divested of private stockholders. Let me assure gentlemen that their character for consistency will not suffer by supporting this measure.

And yet, with the example of this Administration before their eyes, the Whites desad Executive influence so much that they wish to abolish the veto power, lest the President may be able to draw within its vertex all the laislative powers of Congress! What a would we have a!

This I shall, however, say, that the sire of condency conduct by assailing the vote pours. of the Federal Convenient has in new opinion, ever been to chereach upon the rights of the States. Consults hereaster not to exception its independence Bu' enough of the for the present.

The Senator from Kennecky contends, that when the minds of members term left uninfluenced by the public good demanded. the expected action of the Excentive. This was adopted two most important measures, not because the may inneed, it insensities for own rights they approved them in the form in which they were presented, but for the rake of conciliating Mr.

Tyler. Never was there a more striking example of retributive justice than the veto of both these measures. Whether it be the fact, as the Scinator alleges, that the Whigs in Congress took the Fiscal Corporation bill, letter for letter, as it came from the President to them, I shall not pretend to decide. It is not for most accompanies to the country and we shall then never can be with the power ought to be abolished, the country that the power ought to be abolished.

think, however, with all deference, that my Whig I feel, in common with the whole country, to the Prefriends on this side of the House ought not to be sident for having vetoed those bills which it now apsqueamish on that subject. I think my friend pears never received the approbation of any person. from Georgia [Mr. Bennien! ought to go hear! It does astenish me, however, that this proceeding between the President and his party in Congress should ever have been made an argumentin tavor of abolishing the veto power.

This argument, if it prove any thing at all, rets the verl of condemnation to the measures of the late extra session, and to the extra session itself. It is a demonstration of the hasty, inconsiderate and immeture legislation of that session. In the fun of party triumph, the Whigs rushed into it. before passion had time to cool down into that ca'm deliberation, so essential to the wise and barmenious co-peration of the different branches of This authentic history is the best answer to anothe Government. They took so little time to conther position of the Schator. Whilst he believes salt and to deliberate, to reconcile their conflicting that there have been no encrosed meets of the Geropini as and interests, and above all to a certain ne, al Government on the rights of the States, but and fix their real political principles which they on the continuy that it is fast sis king into the weak-shad so seein; "usly concerted from the public eye nese and imbecinity of the C nferentien; he cor-quinting that he centest, that mone but those who plains of the encreacher who which he alleges to wore heated and excited beyond the bounds of reahave been made by the Provident on the legitimate son ever anticipated any result but division, dispowers of Congress. I offer from him entirely justified dentit, from the extra session. The party in both these propositions, and am only sorry that first pursued a course which must have inevitably the subject of the veto pover is one so vast that time fled to the defeat which they have experienced; and will not permit no to ciscuss them at present, would then revenge themselves for their ewn mis-

and their people; and I in ght appeal to its history by consultant the Executive with Let them to establish the postnor. I very riskent struggle, benestly and firmly pass such across the believe threaten og the existence of the Union, which has the public good requires. They will then have done existed in this country in at the beginning, has their duy. Americands let the Freentiese exercise arisen from the exercise or rendricance and doubte the same blockty and firmness is approving these and powers, not by the Fig. 16 ft, but by Congress acrs. If he we set any one of them, he is responsible to the people and there he once to be left.

Fied this comes been pureed at the extra sesther the Executive be shown or weak, Congress must sit by Compression will have present about to estaconform its action to may ished and if they can blish an old fasted and Bunk of the United States, to tobtain what they desire, they must take what they can get. Such a penelphe of action is always wrong in itself, and nost always lead to the ways wrong in itself, and nost always lead to the decision of their ecommon constituents. There destruction of the party which adopts it. This would have been no necessity for my friends was the fatal error of the Senator and his friends at the extra session. He has informed us that neither the Fiscal Bank! her the Fiscal Corporation of the Fiscal Bank! her the Fiscal Corporation which they have been the people, on the other than the first the Fiscal Bank. tion" of that never to be forgotten session would something which they knew to be very bad, behave received twenty voice in either House, had cause they could not obtain that which they thought

This whole proceeding, sir, presents no arguthe most severe cansure which he could have ment against the veto power; all hough it does prepassed on his party in Congress. It is now adorated sent, in a striking light, the subservience of the that the Whig pany carnetly advocated and Whig party in Corgress to Executive dictation. adopted two most important measures, not because We may, indeed, if insensible to our own rights

decide. It is not for me to compose such strifes, the Senator has referred to intimations given on I leave this to their own file leaders. Without en this floor, during the administration of General tering upon this question, I shall never fail, when a Jackson, that such and such acts then pending fit opportunity offers, to express the gratitude which would be vetoed, if passed. Such intimations may can be most usefully and properly applied. President of the United States stands "solitary and alone," in his responsibility to the people. In the exercise of this power, he is emphatically the representative of the whole people. He has the same feeling of responsibility towards the people at large, which actuates us towards our immediate constitu-To him the mass of the p ople must look as their especial agent; and human ingenuity cannot devise a better mode of giving them the necessary control than by enabling him to appeal to themselves in such cases, by means of the veto power, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they will sanction the acts of their Representatives. He can bring each of those measures distinctly before the people for their separate consideration, which may have been adopted by log-rolling as parts of a great system.

The veto power has long been in existence in Pennsylvania, and has been often exercised, and yet, to my knowledge, it never has been exerted in any important case, except in obedience to the public will, or in promotion of the interests of the people Simon Snyder, whose far-seeing sagacity detected the evils of our present banking system, whilst they were yet comparatively in embryo, has rendered himself immortal by his veto of the forty banks The system, however, was only arrested, not destroyed, and we are now suffering the evils. The present Governor has had the wisdom and courage repeatedly to exercise the veto power, and always, I believe, with public approbation. In a late s g nal instance, his veto was overruled, and the law passed by a majority of two thirds in both Houses, although I am convinced that at least three fourths of the people of the State are opposed to the mea sure.

In the State of Pennsylvania, we regard the veto power with peculiar favor. In the convention of 1837, which was held for the purpose of proposing amendments to our Conditution, the identical proposition now made by the Senator from Kentucky was brought forward, and was repudiated by a vote This convention was composed of of 103 to 14. he ablest and most practical men in the State, and was almost equally divided between the two great rival parties of the country; and yet, in that body, but fourteen individuals could be found who were willing to change the Constitution in this particular.

Whilst the framers of the Constitution thought, and thought wisely, that in order to give this powethe practical effect they designed, it was necessary that any bill which was veteed should be arrested, notwithstanding a majority of Congress might afterwards approve the measure; on the other hand, they restrained the power, by conferring on twothirds of each House the authority to enact the bill into a law, notwithstanding the veto of the President. Thus the existence, the exercise, and the restraint of the power are all harmoniously blended. and afford a striking example of the mutual checks and ba ances of the Constitution, so admi rably adapted to preserve the rights of the States and of the people.

The last reason to which I shall advert why the veto power was adopted, and ought to be preserved, I shall state in the language of the seventy-third

number of the Federalist:

"The propensity (says the author) of the Legislative Department to intrude upon the rights, and to absorb the powers of the

other departments, has been already more than once suggested. The insufficiency of a mere parchment defineation of the boundaries of each, has also been remarked upon, and the necessity of furnishing each with constitutional arms for its own defence, has been interred and proved. From these clear and indubita-ble principles results the propriety of a negative, either abso-lute or qualified, in the Executive, upon the acts of the legislative branches."

The Executive, which is the weaker branch, in the opinion of the Federalist, ought not be left at the mercy of Congress, "but ought to possess a constitutional and effectual power of self-defence." It ought to be able to resist encreachments on its constitutional rights.

I admit that no necessity has ever existed to use the veto power for the protection of the Executive, onless it may possibly have been in a single instance; and in it there was evidently no intention to invade his rightful powers. I refer to the "Act to appoint a day for the annual meeting of Congress." This act had passed the Set a'e by a majority of 34 to 8; but when it was returned to this body by General Jackson with his objections, the majority was reversed, and the vote stood but 16 in favor to 23 against its passage.

The knowledge of the existence of this veto power, as the framers of the Constitution foresaw, has doubtless exerted a restraining influence on Congress. That body have never attempted to invade any of the high Executive powers. Whilst such attempts have been made by them to violate the rights of the States and of the people, and have been vetoed. a sense of justice, as well as the silent restraining influence which proceeds from a knowledge that the President possesses the means of self protection, has relieved him from the necessity of

using the veto for this purpose.

Mr. President, I did not think, at the time of its delivery, that the speech of the distinguished Senator from Kentucky was one of great power; although we all know that nothing he can utter is devoid of eloquence and interest. I mean only to say that I did not then believe his speech was characterized by his usual ability; and I was disposed to attribute this to the feeb'e state of his health and the consequent want of his usual buoyancy of spirit. Since I have seen it in print, I have changed my opinion; and for the first time in my life I have believed that a speech of his could appear better and more effective in the reading than in the delivery. I do not mean to institute that any thing was added in the report of it; for I believe it contains all the arguments used by the Senator and no more; but I was astonished to find, upon a careful examination, that every possible argument had been urged which could be used in a cause so hopeless. This is my apology for having detained the Senate so long in attempting to answer it.

[Mr. CLAY observed that he never saw the speech, as written out by the Reporter, till he read it in print the next morning; and, although he found some errors and misconceptions, yet, on the whole, it was very correct, and, as well as he could recollect, contained all the arguments he did make use

of, and no more.]

Mr. Buchanan. I did not intend, as must have been evident to the Senator, to produce the impression that any thing had been added. My only purpose was to say that it was a better speech than I had supposed, and thus to apologise to the Senate for the time I had consumed in answering it.

I shall briefly refer to two other arguments urged

er for his protection, whilst it is not accorded to the Judiciary? The answer is very easy. It is true that this power has not been granted to the Judiciary in form; but they possess it in fact to a much greater extent than the President. The Chief Justice of the United States and his associates, sitting in the gloomy chamber beneath, exercise the tremendous and irresponsible power of saying to all the departments of the Government, "hitherio shalt thou go, and no further." They exercise the prerogative of anu-Hing laws passed by Congress, and approved by the President, whenever in their opinion, the legislative authority has transcended its constitutional limit. Is not this a self-protecting power much more formidable than the veto of the President? Two-thirds of Congress may overrule the Executive vete; but the whole of Congress and the President united, cannot overrule the decisions of the Supreme Court. Theirs is a veton the action of the whole Government. 1 do not say that this power, formidable as it may be, ough not to exist: on the contrary, I consider it to be one of the wise checks which the framers of the Constitution have provided against hasty and unconstitutional legislation, and is a part of the great system of mutual restraints which the prople have imposed on their servants for their own protection. This, however, I will say, and that with the most sincere respect for the individual judges; that in my opinion, the whole train of their decisions from the beginning favors the power of the General Government at the expense of State rights and S are sovernighty. Where, I ask, is the case to be found upon their records, in which they have ever decided that any act of Congress, from the alien ant's dition laws until the present day, was unconstitutional, provided it extended the powers of the Federal Government? Truly they are abundarily able to potect their own rights and jurisdiction against either Congress or the Executive, or both unite-L Again: the Senator asks, why has not the veto

been given to the President on the acts of conventions held for the purpose of amending our Constitution-? If it be necessary to restrain Congress, it is equally necessary, says be, to restrain conventions. The answer to this argument is equally It would be absurd to grant an appeal, through the intervention of the veto, to the people themselves, against their own acts. They create conventions by virtue of their own undel gated and inationable sovereignty; and when they speak, their servants, whether Legi-lative, Excentive, or Judicial, must be silent. Besides, when they proceed to exercise their sovereign power in changing the forms of their Government, they are peculiarly careful in the selection of their delegates-they watch over the proceedings with vigilant care, and the Constitution proposed, by such a convention, is never adopted until after it has been submitted to the vote of the people. It is a more proposition to the people themselves, and leaves no room for the action of the veto power.

[Here Mr. CLAY observed, that Constitutions, thus formed, were not afterwards submitted to the

people.

to be done, in the States: and the Federal Consti- petual!

by the Senator, and shall then take my seat. Why, I tution was not adopted until after it had been sul says he, should the President possess the veto pow- mitted to a convention of the people of ever State in the Union.

So much in regard to the States. The Senator argument has no application whatever to the Feder: Constitution, which has provided the mode of its ow amendment. It requires two-thirds of both House the very majority required to overrule a Presider tial veto, even to propose any amendment; and be fore such an amendment can be adopted, it mu be ratified by the Legislatures, or by conventions in three-fourths of the several States. this proposition, is to manifest the absurdity, nay the impossibility of applying the veto power of the President to amendments, which have thus bee previously ratified by such an overwhelming ex pression of the public will. This Constitution ours, with all its checks and balances, is a wonde intinvention of human wisdom. Founded upc the most just philos: phical principles, and il deepest knowledge of the nature of man, it pro duces harmony, happiness, and order, from elments, which, to the superficial observer, mig-

appear to be discordant. On the whole, I trust not only that this ve power may not be destroyed, but that the vote c the Sepator's amendment may be of such a chara ter as to settle the question, at least during the pr sent generation. Sir. of all the Executive power it is the one least to be dreaded. It cannot creat it can originate no measure; it can change r existing law; it can destroy no existing institution It is a mere power to arrest hasty and inconsidrate changes, until the voice of the people, who at alike the masters of Senators, Representatives ar President, shall be heard. When it speaks, w must all bow with deference to the decree. Publ opinion is irresistible in this country. It will as complish its purpose by the removal of Senator Representatives, or Prezident, who may stand in i way. The President might as well attempt t stay the tides of the ocean by erecting mounds (sand, as to think of controlling the will of the per ple by the veto power. The mounting waves o popular opinion would soon prostrate such a fe ble barrier. The veto power is every thing whe sustained by public opinion; but nothing without i

What is this Constitution under which we livand what are we? Are we not the most prospe ous, the most free, and amongst the most powerful nations on the face of the earth? Have we not a tained this pre-eminence, in a period brief beyond any examp consider the terminence, in a period or per beyond any example recorded in listory, under the benign influence of this Constition, and the laws which have been passed under its authority? Why, then, should we, with rude hands, tear aw one of the cords from this wisely balanced instrument, a thus incur the danger of impairing or destroying the harm by and vigorous action of the whole? The Senator from Keick the great in two onlines, further the data with the reputility. tucky has not, in my opinion, furnished us with any suffici

And after all, what harm can this veto power ever do? can never delay the passage of a great public measure, manded by the people, more than two, or at the most, fivears. Is it not better, then to submit to this possible inc. years. Is it not better, then, to stoom to this possible me venience, (for it has never yet occurred,) than to dertroy a power altogether? It is not probable that it ever will occur; it cases if the President should disregard the will of the people, any important constitutional measure which they desired, would sign his own political death warrant. No Preside will ever knowingly attempt to do it; and his means of knowledge from the ordeal through which he must have passed or. will ever knowing attempt to do it, and its means of any ledge, from the ordeal through which he must have passed privious to his election, are superior to those of any other individual. He will hever, indees in cases scarcely to be imagined resist the public will when fairly expressed. It is beyond the nature of things to believe otherwise. The veto power is the Mr. BUCHANAN. For many years past, I believe that this has always been done, as it always ought to be done in the States and the rights of the states are states and the rights of the states and the rights of the states are states are states and the rights of the states are rights of the States and the rights of the people. May it be pe







